# JOURNAL

OF

## THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

### No. 42.—June, 1835.

#### I.—On the Government and History of Naning in the Malay Peninsula. By Lieut. J. T. NEWBOLD, 23rd Regt. Madras Nat. Inf.

Native Government of Naning.—The Government of Naning, set ting aside its connexion with the European powers at Malacca, which interfered very little in its internal organization, was at once feudal and pastoral in its character. The classification of the people into tribes was nearly as well defined as that of the children of Israel, described by Moses in the Pentateuch.

Panghúlús.—The office of Panghúlú has been hereditary, subject to the approbation of the Government at Malacca, agreeably, generally, to the Menángkábowe law of succession of the Anak Perpáti Sabátang, or the Tromba Pusáka Menángkábowe. The right of succession devolving upon the eldest male child of the sister; who however may be set aside in case of imbecility or other causes. This singular law of succession prevails throughout Naning.

The last Panghúlús of Naning were of the tribe Se Melongan. They were generally brought down by the four heads of tribes, or Ampat Súkú, to Malacca, to be confirmed by the European Government.

JUÁRA' MAGAB, the first Panghúlú of the last line, arrogated to himself the power of inflicting capital punishment on the inhabitants confided to his charge. It was exercised and abused by his successors until 1809, when it was rescinded by the British Resident, Colonel FARQUHAR; a gentleman whose name is held in affectionate remembrance by most of the Malays, both of Malacca and the neighbouring independent states.

The last death sentence passed by ABDUL SAYAD (or DHOL SAYAD), the ex-Panghúlú, was on a Queda man, named SALI, in 1805. This Malay had carried off from Malacca two Chinese slaves, a man and woman; meeting some resistance from the former, he had murdered him, with his kris, in the forest of Londoo, and proceeded with the woman to Píla, in Sríminánti, where he sold her.

The present superintendent of Naning, Mr. WESTERHOUT, who was an eye-witness, described to me the ceremony of his trial and execu-The criminal was conducted bound to Buket Penialang, or tion. " execution hill," near Tabú. The Panghúlú, the Ampat Súkú, the 12 Panglimás, the Bandhúra, and the Makdum were all seated in judgment under a cluster of Tambuseh trees, on the skirt of the hill. The witnesses were brought forward and examined by the Panghúlú himself. The evidence against the prisoner being deemed conclusive, according to the forms of the Muhammedan law, he was sentenced, agreeably to the Adat Menángkábowe, to pay one Bhár (equivalent to 24 Spanish dollars, and 30 cents), or to suffer (Salang) death by the kris. Being unable to pay the fine, preparations were made for his immediate execution. The grave was dug on the spot, and he was placed firmly bound in a sitting posture, literally on its brink. For further security, two Panglimás sat on each side, whilst the Panglima Besár SUMUN unsheathed the weapon that was to terminate the trembling wretch's existence. On the point of the poniard, the kris panjang, the Panglimá carefully placed a pledget of soft cotton, which he pressed against the man's breast, a little above the right collar bone. He then slowly passed the weapon's point through the cotton, on which he kept the fingers of his left hand, firmly pressed in a direction obliquely to the left, into his body, until the projection of the hilt stopped its farther progress. The weapon was then slowly withdrawn, the Panglimá still retaining the cotton in its place by the pressure of his fingers, by which the effusion of blood externally was effectually stanched.

The criminal, convulsively shuddering, was instantly preciptated into the grave; but on his making signs for water, was raised. He had barely time to apply his lips to the cocoanut shell, in which it was brought, when he fell back into the grave quite dead. The earth was then hastily thrown over the body, and the assembly dispersed.

The Ampat Súkú.—Next to the Panghúlú, were the four heads or representatives of the four Súkús, or tribes, into which the population of Naning was divided.

In the ex-Panghúlú's time, the head of the

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Súkú	Sa Melongan,	was	Mahárájá	NUNKAIO.
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- ,, Anak Malacca, ,, ANDIKA' Mahárájá.
  - Tigá Battá, ,, DATTU AMBANGAN.
- ", Munkáh, ", Orang Kaio Ki'hil.

There are three other Súkús or tribes in Naning, viz. those of *Battá Balong*, *Tigá Neyney*, and *Bodoandá*. The number of individuals composing these tribes being so insignificant, they were included in the four general divisions.

The office of the head of the  $S \acute{u} k \acute{u}$  was not exactly hereditary. In the event of a casualty, the place was generally filled up by the remaining three from the most eligible of the deceased's family. Their office was to assist the *Panghúlú* with their counsel and advice; if unanimous, they could carry their point against him.

They were always consulted in any matter of importance, and affixed their seals to all deeds and agreements. Letters to the Government at Malacca, and to the heads of independent states were invariably written in the name of the *Panghúlú* and *Ampat Súkú*. Each was individually responsible for his tribe to the *Panghúlú*, in matters of revenue, levying men and settling disputes.

Their revenue was derived principally from the power they enjoyed of levying fines on their own particular tribe, and from a portion allotted to them by the *Panghúlú* from his annual levy on each house of five gantams of paddy.

Mantrís.—The Mantrís were a species of privy councillors to the Panghúlús, two in number. The last were MELA'NA' HAKÍM and GOMPA'R. They fled with the Panghúlú to Míko in Rumbowe, but have since returned.

Panglímás or Hulubalangs.—The Panglímás are the war chiefs. The ex-Panghúlú had 12; viz. Panglímas Besár, Jatí, Arrip, Beibas, Sultán, Tambi, Prang, Troh, 2 Bangsahs, Kiodin, and Rajá Balang. Four of these were personally attached to the Panghúlú; viz. Panglímás Besár, Prang, Jatí, and Arrip: the rest to the Ampat Súkú.

Besides the levying of men in war, and leading them to combat, building stockades, &c. the duty of a *Panglimá* is in peace, the apprehension of criminals, bearing official messages and letters, and making requisitions.

On these occasions, the Panghúlú's spear Tombok Bandaran was sent with them, in token of their authority.

This custom prevails generally among Malayan chiefs.

The above form of government was entirely abolished on the settling of the country after the disturbances in 1832, as will appear hereafter.

History.—Naning was taken possession of, together with the Malacca lands, by the Portuguese, shortly a fter the capture of Malacca by ALPHONSO ALBUQUERQUE, in 1511. Previous to this, it had formed an

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integral part of the dominions of MUHAMMED SHAH II., Sultán of Malacca; who, on the fall of his capital, fled to Muar, thence to Pahang, and finally to Johore, where he established a kingdom. Naning remained nominally under the Portuguese, till 1641-2, when with Malacca it fell into the hands of the Dutch, and their allies the sovereigns of Johore and Achin. According to a Malay manuscript in my possession, "the Hollanders made many bonds with the king of Johore, on golden paper, including numerous divisions of shares and territory," among which are specified the interior boundaries of Malacca, viz." From the mouth of the Cassang to its source southerly; from the mouth of the Lingí river to Ramoan China northerly to Buket Bruang, Bakowe Rendah, Ramonia Chondong, Padang Chachar, Dason Mariah, Dason Kappar Ulú Malacca to the source of the Cassang river. Done, written, and sealed by the Hollanders and king of Johore, on paper of gold."

 $V_{ALENTYN}$ , however, asserts, that the 1st article of the treaty between the Dutch and the king of Johore was, that the town be given up to the Dutch, and the land to the king of Johore, reserving, however, to the Dutch so much territory about the town as is required, and license to cut fire-wood. Be this as it may, Dutch policy soon extended the meaning of this into the possession of an area of nearly 50 miles by 30, which comprised the whole of Naning up to the frontiers of Rumbowe and Johore.

This line of latter days has been extended beyond Buket Bruang and Ramoan China, to the left bank of the Lingí river, which it now comprehends.

History of Naning .- The Dutch, on their taking possession of Malacca in 1641, found Naning under the government of the Ampat Súkú, or heads of the four tribes, into which the inhabitants are divided. In the Dutch Governor General ANTHONIJ VAN DIEMEN'S administration, an agreement was made by the first Land-voogd, or Governor of Malacca, JOHAN VAN TWIST, on the 15th of August, 1641. with the chiefs of Naning and the neighbouring villages : by which the latter promised fidelity to the States General and the Company, and abjured their former engagements with the Spaniards and Portuguese. The property of all persons dying without issue to be divided between the Company and the native chiefs; that of persons guilty of murder, to be appropriated half for the use of the Company. and the remainder for their heirs. The company to be entitled to onetenth of the produce, and to a duty of 10 per cent. on the sale of estates. Such taxes to be collected by native servants, who will be rewarded by Governor General A. VAN DIEMEN.

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In the old Dutch records, preserved in the archives of Malacca, we find, in 1643, the inhabitants of Naning and Rumbowe, particularly those of the districts of Mullikey, Perling, and Inac, noticed as being in a very rebellious and disorderly state, refusing to obey their chief Rájá MERAH, the first Panghúlú of Naning, on account of the banishment by the Dutch of one of their chiefs, named MENI TUAN LELAH REAWAN, from the territory of Malacca: and complaining that the administration of justice was not according to their customs.

In 1644, the Dutch Government resolved to depute commissioners to Naning, in order to restore tranquillity, to take a survey of Naning and its districts, to apportion lands to the inhabitants, (who, it is worthy of note, are always styled "*Manikábowes*," or settlers from Menángkábowe in Sumatra,) to in fuse intotheir minds the advantages resulting from habits of industry, to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits, to persuade them to " depart from the state of barbarism under which they then laboured," and finally, to furnish Rájá MERAH, the chiefs and inhabitants there, with instructions how they were to conduct themselves towards the Government of Malacca in respect to the administration of justice in civil cases, and above all, to take cognizance of every criminal case that occurred there.

To fulfil the objects of this mission, Government selected senior merchant SNOVEQ. But citizen SNOVEQ, the minute drily observes, "brings in various excuses, saying he is unwell, and that the road to Naning is impassable, that his legs are bad, and that he is not proficient in the Malay language."

Shortly after this, SNOUEQ still persisting in his objections, an expedition is ordered to proceed to Naning, under Captain S. ALEX-ANDER MENDOS and ANTONIO GONIO LOUIS PINJERO, consisting of 50 Netherlands, and 60 Malacca soldiers, with 20 peons, to convey provisions and baggage, and a number of boats and boatmen—in all 180 men.

The following is the official account of the mission written by the Governor JEREMIAS VAN VLIET, who, it appears, proceeded himself to Naning in the room of SNOUEQ.

"On the third day, about three hours before the sun went down, we arrived with the whole retinue at Pankallang Naning, as far as is navigable, with a boat. Here we rested during the night, and found Rájá MERAH, with some of the principal chiefs of Naning, who shewed us every mark of respect and obedience.

"Early on the morning of the fourth, we marched forward with the whole retinue, through forests, to Melecque (Mullikey). We reached this place at 10 o'clock, with the principal part of the troops, and

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awaited the arrival of our baggage. After taking some refreshments, we proceeded on our journey to Naning, and arrived at this place two hours before the rising of the sun. Rájá MERAH, with some of the principal chiefs of Naning, and a great concourse of people, came to receive us and pay their homage. They conducted us to Naning, and had a band of musicians marching before us.

"The inhabitants of Naning and the other districts under our subjection came to us to pay their homage. Thus every thing promised a favorable result to the object of our mission. The chiefs and inhabitants of Naning had constructed a sumptuous bungalow for our reception, and shewed us every attention and respect.

"We received their compliments with every token of good will, and so we past the day.

" In Naning we desired Rájá MERAH and the chiefs to be called; and pointed out to them the atrocities which had been committed by them and the inhabitants during the past year, viz. that murder and robbery were common practices with them, arising from no other cause than a state of ignorance and idleness. It is therefore adviseable, that they should devote their time to agricultural pursuits, such as planting a more considerable quantity of pepper or paddy. Were they to lead an industrious life, it would prove much to their benefit; malignity would then, no doubt, be entirely eradicated."

The following points were laid before them :

Ist. "That INCHI WODDAT, one of the chiefs and head-men at Melicque (Mullikey), having proved himself unworthy of that situation, and on whom no confidence could be placed, it is required that they should select three qualified persons at Melicque, out of which number, one would be chosen to fill the vacant seat."

2nd. "That they should keep the river, from Pankallang Naning to Pankallang Nauwar, clear, and make it navigable for prows."

3rd. "That one-tenth of the produce of the Naning rice-fields should be paid annually, either in kind or money."

4th. "That Rájá MERAH, with the chiefs, should come down personally, or depute persons to pay their homage." (The records here are almost obliterated.)

5th. "That Rájá MERAH shall invite, by beat of gong, all the inhabitants in the districts under subjection, in order to ascertain if they have any complaints to bring forward against Rájá MERAH, or the other chiefs; and if they have no reason of complaint, notice should be taken of their disobedience."

6th. "That we should furnish Rájá MERAH and the chiefs with instructions, and point out to them the line of conduct which they

should invariably pursue, and how far their authority extends in the administration of civil cases."

"These points having been translated into the Malay language, we had it proclaimed, and made known to all people, through the medium of Rájá MERAH, who informed us, that the inhabitants accepted these rules with due deference, but made some difficulty in complying with the contents of that paragraph which enjoins them to keep the river clear, for they consider themselves as his (Rájá MERAH's) subjects, not his slaves. Rájá MERAH further states, that the limited authority with which he is invested is not calculated to command obedience. But it is our wish, that Rájá MERAH confer with the chiefs and inhabitants on the matter, and inform them that what we had resolved is principally to promote their interest. The clearing away on the banks of the river is a service which could be performed by four persons, and in a short space of time. The banks of the river should be cleared, widened, and made navigable from Naning to the town; but they are required to keep the river clear only as far as Pankallang Nauwar, from thence it will be the business of our inhabitants to preserve the cleanliness of the river. They ought to recollect, that this improvement would, in a great measure, promote the prosperity of Naning; and how convenient it would be felt by every body in the transport of paddy, sirih, and other produce. Perceiving their objection, we desired, that the inhabitants should be summoned by beat of gong, in order that they might consider this object more attentively. Rájá MERAH and chiefs did accordingly hold a consultation with the inhabitants. We directed ALEXANDER MENDOS to be present at this meeting, and to inform himself of every circumstance which might occur, and instructed him how he should conduct himself towards these obstinate people.

"ALEXANDER MENDOS having appeared in the meeting, and hearingsome of the Manikábowes making difficulties to obey the order regarding the clearing of the river, alleging that their houses were too far situated from the river, replied, that they should not murmur at such a trivial labour, considering that the Governor himself had left the town, and come up here for the purpose of punishing the wicked and disobedient, and protecting the innocent and faithful, it would therefore be very imprudent to resist his wishes. MENDOS and Rájá ME-RAH, impressed these salutary precepts on the minds of the inhabitants of the villages under subjection, who with one consent and loud voice exclaimed, " the will of the Governor of Malacca be done," and promised to be obedient to all his orders. In this manner did Rájá MERAH, the chiefs, and inhabitants declare their willingness to accede to the rules which we had prescribed to them.

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"We directed all the men in the districts under subjection to approach our dwelling, and demanded to know if they were satisfied with Rájá MERAH and the other chiefs, and would submit to their orders. If any person should be injured, and could procure no redress from them," (here again the record is undecipherable.)

"We addressed the people in such a manner that they unanimously declared, that they had nothing to bring forward against Rájá ME-RAH, and consented to place themselves under his control. We have in consequence read in the Dutch, Portuguese, and Malay languages, in the presence of the inhabitants of the districts under subjection, viz. Naning, Melicque, Inak, and Perling, the commission appointing Rájáh MERAH as our subordinate chief over the above-mentioned districts ; and the tenor of the commission is noted down in the accompany copy.

"Rájá MERAH had selected three persons from each of the districts Melicque and Perling; out of which one will be chosen, in order to increase the number of the members of the council in Naning, and each of them should be a head man over a village.

"Whilst Rájá MERAH, the chiefs, and the inhabitants were holding a council, we took a survey of the lands and paddy-fields in Naning, and proceeded nearly so far as the forests of Rumbowe. It is indeed a fine and fertile land, bounded on both sides by forests. It is to be desired, that Malacca could possess such advantages. In the districts of Naning there is much waste and uncultivated land, which is well adapted for planting pepper. If we could put our plan into execution, it is certain that the Company will derive great profit in time.

"After the trial of many delinquents, there was one man, named U'ANG CAYA PER MATTU MERAH, who was once one of the chiefs at Naning ; who, having evinced symptoms of disaffection, proceeded to Rumbowe, where he had spent his days in cock-fighting and gaming. This man was ordered to be apprehended and fined in our council, with the concurrence of Rájá MERAH, in a sum of 50 crusadoes.

"The enormous crime committed by CONTELLA LASCARRA, late head man at Perling, for which he had been imprisoned here for a length of time, was also investigated in the presence of the said chiefs. He was condemned to pay a fine of 100 crusadoes. In failure of this, he shall be scourged and banished the territory of Malacca.

"The instructions, which we intended to furnish Rájá MERAH with, being ready, we intimated the tenor of the same to him and the other chiefs, and they appeared to be perfectly satisfied with them, which gives us every reason to hope, that they would promote the happiness and comfort of the people, and increase the confluence of the Manikábowes, when the villagers of other places shall hear Naning 1835.] Naning in the Malay Peninsula.

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is become a well-regulated Government, and the character of the inhabitants peaceable and industrious, and that vice is severely punished.

"Every thing at Naning has turned out to our wishes. Rájá MERAH and the chiefs were very submissive, and the inhabitants very obedient to our orders."

Governor VAN VLIET had not long to felicitate himself on the submissiveness and obedience of the inhabitants of Naning; for shortly after his return to Malacca, an extensive conspiracy was formed, in which they assumed a prominent part against the Dutch Government, in the denouement of which, two Dutch officers lost their lives at the hands of the natives. The following paragraph from the records gives us an insight into the method employed by the Dutch of this period, in "persuading the refractory Manikábowes to return from the state of barbarism under which they had the misfortune to labour."

Well might Lord MINTO, the conqueror of Java, commit to the flames with indignant hands, those instruments of torture, so long a disgrace to a city over whose ancient ruins the British flag waved\*.

This document is dated " Malacca, 16th August, 1644."

"What an abominable treason and conspiracy have we not discovered in Naning in the conduct of five Malays, named INCHI ITAM, BONGSOE, SILLAP, POETARA, and a slave of the name of PATCHUIM, who had been compelled by his master to join the conspirators against Malacca. We have often trusted ITAM with letters to the chiefs at Naning and Rumbowe, but he has performed our commands in a very unfaithful manner, by laying secret schemes with the said chiefs against us, and three different times he swore fealty in favor of them, against our Government, that he would not discover and make known to us any plan which our enemy might project against our interest, and if we should purpose to despatch a force thither, he would give timely notice to them of our design. Moreover, he had undertaken to lead 1,000 Manikábowes to Malacca, in order to attack and destroy the settlement. All this he did, and dissembled with us. INCHI, SILLAP, BONGSOE, and POETARA were for a considerable length of time our inhabitants, and were together with the troops where Captains FORSENBERG and MENIE were murdered ; since which time, they have taken uparms against our Government, and threatened to murder us in our council

\* His Lordship, after the taking of Java, presented Malacca with a full length portrait of himself, in which the burning of the instruments of torture is represented. The picture was formerly suspended in the Stadt-house, but now adorns the court-house of Malacca. chamber, and to run a muck against any one who would oppose them. They did also pledge that they would set the town on fire, and retire to the country with their wives and children. We were long of intention to punish these traitors, but have with the advice of our council defered the execution thereof until the return of our commissioner SNOUEQ from Johore. But the following is now resolved :

"That INCHI ITAM be tortured to death, and his body be exposed on a gibbet."

"That SILLAP and BONGSOE be decapitated, and their bodies be divided into four parts, and exposed in several conspicuous places."

"That POETARA be beheaded, his head placed upon a gibbet, his body separated, and exposed in several conspicuous places. He has confessed to be guilty of horrid crimes."

"That PATCHIUM the slave, be acquitted, and set at large, as it is proved that he has not taken up arms against us, and has been constrained by his master to join the said conspirators. Moreover, he was the medium of discovering the conspiracy."

"God preserve Malacca and all states and fortresses from such evil-designing people."

"The villages of Naning and Rumbowe continue in a rebellious state, the blockade of the river Panagy, (the Rumbowe and Naning branch of the Lingí river,) by us is still carried on. Some days past, two Rumbowe people have been seized by our inhabitants in the river Muar. We had them executed; their heads were placed on stakes, and their bodies on gibbets."

"God grant that we may apprehend some more of these traitors, they shall all be dealt with in this way."

"By the disasters which had taken place at Naning, the continuance of the rebellion excited by the insolent *Manikábowes*, and the diffidence subsisting between this republic and the states of Johore, the minor trade of this place has of late been decreasing, the supply of all necessaries prevented, and the plantations along the river-side deserted and abandoned; for fear of the *Manikábowes*, nobody would venture to cultivate their gardens in those places. The revenue of the settlement has in consequence diminished, and the inhabitants very much disheartened. Even the people in the surrounding states are not exempt from fear on this account. We shall find it therefore expedient to conclude a permanent peace with the states of Johore, by which means, it will be in our power to punish the Naning and Rumbowe people. We shall endeavour to treat all the subjects of the chief of Johore in a friendly manner, and permit them to visit our settlement without molestation."

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The Dutch for a considerable period afterwards experienced much annoyance from the daring aggressions of these hardy natives, who advanced in hordes within a musket shot of the fort, and up to the very borders of the entrenchments, plundering and laying waste to the gardens and houses in the vicinity, and destroying the plantations at Bukit China. Government, at last, though not without considerable expence and bloodshed, succeeded in restoring tranquillity.

In 1651, the Panghúlú Sri Rájá MERAH was publicly thanked for his services in the apprehension of a runaway slave from Malacca, guilty of murder. In 1652, he, with his three sons and two of the principal chiefs of Naning, came down to Malacca, and presented to Government a quantity of pepper as "an ordinary tribute." On this occasion, he was honored in return by the gift of a Malay sarasah, one piece of red cloth, one of white cloth, and a piece of white bafta.

Inferior presents were likewise bestowed upon his three sons and the two chiefs.

In November, 1652, we find the following minute, which goes to disprove the power of inflicting capital punishment, without reference to the Malacca Government, which of later years the ex-Panghúlú DHOL SAYAD arrogated to himself.

"Pursuant to our order of the 30th October last, a letter was written in reply by Mr. EMANUEL DU MOULYN to the chiefs of Naning, conveying our sentiments and surprise at the atrocities which had been of late perpetrated at Naning, and the summary manner with which the offender was put to death by the commands of the chiefs in the case of Rajah MERAH's son-in-law, who attempted to destroy his wife and father-in-law. This we must confess is a horrid deed, but at all events, the offender should have been delivered into our hands, and a regular course of trial in our court be instituted against him. But when we take into consideration the sincere contrition expressed at what they have done, we could not but impute it to their ignorance, and it is therefore proper that we should not notice it this time with that severity and censure, which under any other circumstances it would be our bounden duty as lord paramount to exercise."

"We observe that there is another individual of the name of INCHI JUMAT, who has shewn many instances of insubordination, and is fully proved to have run a muck, and attempted the life of his chief at Naning. We have resolved in council, at the suggestion of the chiefs and inhabitants of Naning, and places subordinate thereto, that the said INCHI JUMAT be put to death, and sincerely trust, that after the extinction of such a dangerous character as the said JUMAT, the district of Naning will revert to its former tranquillity and happiness."

The subjoined document, dated 27th May, 1664, bears upon the collection of the duty on the produce of Naning.

"The captain of Naning and the chiefs preferred in council a complaint against MARIA SILVENS, collector of the customs on Sirih brought from Naning, that he has not attended to the usual mode of levving the duty on this article."

"The measure which it seems he has adopted is this—after receiving the duty, he would detain the people about five days, until the quantity collected by him has been disposed of, by which means, the *Sirih* remaining on their hands, became unfit for consumption, and consequently not saleable. Through his negligence, the *Bongsal*, (revenue store-house) in which this article is deposited, and wherein the Naning people are compelled to take shelter at night, had become very dilapidated; nor has he troubled himself in the least to put the building in a proper repair for the accommodation of these persons, who were under the necessity of violating the prescribed rules, by taking up their lodgings in different parts of the town, which expedient has been attended with much inconvenience and disagreement amongst the Naning people."

"With a view to preserve good order and tranquillity, another individual shall be appointed in the room of MARIA SILVENS, who it would appear is also desirous to tender his resignation. We have therefore deemed it advisable, at the suggestion of Rájá MERAH, and the chiefs of Naning, to nominate ANTHONY PINJERO and MANUEL FRERE, as collectors of the duty on *Sirih* brought from Naning. The president of our council having observed, that MANUEL FRERE is more conversant in Malay language, and customs of those people, than the first mentioned individual, has considered it expedient to propose him for the performance of this duty, in which motion we unanimously concurred, and have consequently nominated the said MANUEL FRERE provisionally, to execute the functions of a collector of the aforesaid duty, and superintendent of the Bongsal, until our further orders."

"Early in 1680, the agreement made in 1641, by VAN TWIST, was renewed, during Governor General RIJHLOF VAN GOEN'S administration by the then Land-voogd of Malacca, JACOB JARISSOON PITS, ' with the ambassadors of Naning and Rumbowe, on behalf of the king of Johore,' with these additions, viz. ' that a duty of ten per cent. ad valorem be paid to the Company on the sales of the pepper.' The Company promise to give an adequate subsistence to the chief at Naning, besides one-tenth of the collected revenue."

"Each boat coming down from Naning will pay a duty of one crusadoe to the Company." It appears by this treaty that the custom of dividing the property of the natives of Naning, dying without heirs, was introduced by the Portuguese prior to the capture of Malacca by the Dutch; we also find that all slaves flying from Naning to Malacca with intent of embracing the Christian faith will be emancipated, and the value of the same will be paid to their ancestors.

The Naning people likewise bound themselves not to trade with foreign nations, but to convey their merchandize down the river to Malacca.

In 1703, the Malacca Government appointed Sri Mahárájá JUARA MAGAT, as Panghúlú of Naning, for a service done to the king of Johore, which will be shortly mentioned, and in consequence of the incapacity and infirmities of the then Panghúlú Sri Rájá MERAH, who had forwarded to Government the Company's signet, which he had been permitted to use as a token of his delegated authority.

The following are the instructions received by the commissioners deputed for the installation of the new chief at Naning. They present a curious specimen of the native policy of the Dutch.

" Malacca, 5th May, 1703.

"Instructions given by BERNARD PHOONSEN, Governor and Director of the town and fortress of Malacca in Council, to PETER ANTHONY FIGAREDO, burgher, and INCHI AROOM, head man of the Malays at this place, for their guidance in respect to the installation of the newly nominated chief at Naning Sri Rájá MERAH, and the conduct which they should pursue during their stay at that place."

Ist. " On your arrival at Naning, you shall wait upon the Orang Káyá Sri Rájá MERAH, in our name, and present him the accompanying letter, and congratulate him on his retiring from office, which we have granted him at his own request, and in consideration of his advanced age; and inform him, that his brother has been nominated to fill the vacant office, for which he has received the arms of the East India Company as a mark of his authority."

2nd. "You shall require the chiefs at Naning to pay all due respects and submission to the authority who holds the said seals, and with regard to the navigation of the river by boats, they shall invariably conduct themselves as we have desired."

3rd. "Two days after your arrival, you shall nominate and appoint the new chief in the name of the East India Company, and command all persons to pay every respect, and shew due submission to him; in failure thereof, they shall be liable to punishment."

4th. "You shall diligently inquire into the case of SEATHUM and his followers, in order that we might be thoroughly informed whether

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he has been justly or unjustly accused, as we have heard repeated complaints against the present reigning chief; but you must not omit to caution SEATHUM, as well as his followers, to attend to all orders and requisitions enforced by the East India Company."

5th. "That the sentence, which shall be pronounced by them against an offender, must, in the first instance, be approved of, and confirmed by us, before it can be put into execution. Such sentences are also liable to be cancelled and altered by us, and our will must be punctually attended to."

6th. "They shall apprehend and send to town all evil disposed persons and offenders, who may from time to time take shelter in the districts of Naning. If resistance should be made on the part of these persons, they shall use violence in seizing them, for we would rather see them *put to death* than that one should escape with impunity."

7th. "No individual from town, or plantations on the river side, shall be permitted to proceed to Naning without previous intimation being given to the Shahbandar, or Malay translator, who will issue on application a written permission to that effect; and we direct that all persons, not furnished with such license, be ordered to quite Naning, and return to the place from whence they came."

8th. "The inhabitants of Naning shall be permitted to export and bring to market in town all sorts of minerals, timbers, fruits, &c., except Sirih leaves. Our reason for forbidding the importation of this article has been several times conveyed to them. In return they shall be permitted to take to Naning from hence all sorts of provisions and necessaries."

The following account of the circumstances attending JUARA MA-GAT's elevation is related on native authority.

Sultan ABDUL JALIL SHAH III., king of Johore, wrote a letter to the chief of the Malays at Malacca, then *Capitan Malayu*, DATTU ARU'M, stating, that one of his subjects, GANTA DELANGIT, had carried off one of the royal concubines to Malacca; and desiring him most earnestly to render assistance in wiping off this stain on his honor. The *Capitan* on the receipt of this epistle summoned JUARA MAGAT from Naning, and ordered him to seek out DELANGIT, to put him to death, and to bring down the concubine of the Sultán to Malacca.

To this, it is said, JUARA readily assented, but requested a *kris* from the *Capitan* for the purpose, who gave him the choice of the whole of his weapons, and on JUARA's not finding one "lucky" enough, desired him to go to the armourer's shop in town, and make his own selection. JUARA turned into a Chinese shop, near the Trangueira gate, where after rejecting all the inlayed and beautifully damasked weapons offered him by the armourer, selected an old rusty looking kris, blackened by the smoke and resin of the dammer torches, to the trimming of which it had been constantly applied. He then returned to the *Capitan*, and informed his astonished employer that the rejected weapon he held in his hand, was the kris destined to pour out the blood of **DELANGIT** as a sacrifice to the insulted honor of the Sultán.

With this wonderful weapon (fit companion for the enchanted sword of king ARTHUR), JUARA returned to Naning. But DELANGIT, hearing of his purpose, had already fled thence into Muar, and concealed himself with the concubine amid the fastnesses of that wild country. Thither the persevering JUARA tracked his victim, and coming up with him at the mouth of the river, plunged the fatal steel deep into his heart.

The concubine he conveyed in safety to Malacca, whence she was sent, with an account of what had occurred, by the *Capitan*, to the Sultán of JOHORE. The Sultán recommended JUARA to the Dutch government, who made him *Panghúlú* of Naning; and bestowed on him as mark of royal favor, two slaves, a man and woman; (from whom the *Súkú* or tribe at present known by the appellation of *Tigá Nenek* sprang;) a sword, termed *Ulúr-kenyáng*, "the satiated serpent," a silk *bájú* or vest, and lastly, a tract of the Gominchi territory, hence called *Pembáshú Tungan*. To the *Capitan Malayu* was given a piece of land extending from Kleybang to the Sungí Baru river, and inland to Bertam. The title Sri Rájá MERAH, the sword, *Baju*, and a genealogical book, generally preserved in the families of Malayan princes and noblemen, called *Silselah*, have descended to JUARA's successors as a *Kabesáran*, or regalia.

JUARA MAGAT was succeeded, agreeably to the Menángkábowe law of succession, by his sister's son, KUKAH; to KUKAH succeeded EAN-GARANG OF MULANA GARANG, JANGOT, TAMBAH, and ANJAK OF BUKIT JOOTOR. The present ex-Panghúlú Abdul SAYAD of DHOL SAYAD, succeeded his uncle ANJAK, in 1801, when he was confirmed in his office by the British Resident at Malacca, colonel TAYLOR.

When ABDUL SAYAD had control in Naning, the Kabesáran of his ancestors was kept in a house-shaped chest, and was only publicly produced once a year. Its contents were perfumed with the smoke arising from a censer of odoriferous gums, and washed with water and rice-flour, by the sacred hands of the Panghúlú himself. On their being exhibited, the superstitious natives, not even daring to look at these miraculous relics, fell prostrate with their foreheads pressed to the earth, exclaiming, Dowlet, dowlet !

The properties ascribed to the sword are those generally known by Malays under the term *Betuah*, which, among other meanings, has that

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of any thing imparting invulnerability and irresistability to the wearer. Secret enemies are detected, by their involuntarily trembling in the august presence of the weapon. The silk  $b\dot{a}j\dot{u}$ , it is believed, will fit none but the *Panghúlú* or the person destined to become his successor. And to this day, it is firmly credited by many of the Malays, that the elder brother of ABDUL SAVAD was rejected from the Panghúlúship solely on account of his inability to get his head through the neck of the vest, which is represented to be so small, as scarcely to admit of the insertion of two fingers.

The truth of the matter is, that he was set aside by the Ampat  $S\acute{u}k\acute{u}$ , on account of his unfitness, and unpopularity. How the ex-Panghúlú contrived to slip his large head through the silken vest must still remain matter of conjecture to the learned.

In 1795, the English took possession of Malacca and Naning; of the latter, under the same terms as the Dutch had held possession. In 1802, Colonel TAYLOR, the Resident at Malacca, made treaty with the ex-Panghúlú and the Ampat Súkú. Among other stipulations, it was agreed on that the Panghúlú chiefs, Menángkábowes or Malays of Naning, do pay one-tenth of the produce of the soil to the East India Company; but in consideration of their poverty, it is resolved, that instead of paying the tenth, the Panghúlú come in person annually to Malacca, and present 400 gantams of paddy to Government. And further, that " the Panghulu and chiefs promise, in the name of the said community of Naning, that whenever the chief rulers happen to resign the Government, or any misfortune befal them, they shall in such case propose one of the nearest and most qualified of his family to the Governor of Malacca, for his successor; but it is not expected that such a proposal must always meet the Governor's approbation ; on the contrary, it is optional with him, whom he thinks proper to appoint."

Colonel FARQUHAR became Resident of Malacca in 1803, and in 1809, reserved to the British Government, the power of inflicting capital punishment on criminals in Naning. The duty of one crusadoe, on boats coming down from Naning, was withdrawn.

In 1810, the Dutch again assumed possession of Malacca. In 1822, Governor TIMMERMAN THYSSEN, had caused a statement of the land's produce of Naning to be drawn out, and transmitted it to the Netherlands Government at Batavia, with the ulterior view of levying the tenth. But before their decision was received, the British flag was again hoisted at Malacca. This took place in April, 1825. Up to this period, the 400 gantams, in lieu of the tenth, had been annually paid by the different *Panghúlús* of Naning. In 1827, the *Panghúlú* and *Ampat Súkú*, came down to Malacca to pay their re-

spects to the new Resident, Mr. GARLING, who had been appointed in 1826. In 1828, Mr. LEWIS, Assistant Resident, proceeded to Tabú, the capital (if a village be so called) of Naning, with the view of making arrangements with the chiefs, for putting that territory on the same footing as the Malacca lands, which, in pursuance of Mr. FULLARTON'S plans, had been transferred, on the 15th of March, 1828, by the private landholders, for the aggregate annual sum of 17,000 Sicca Rupees, to Government, from the 1st of November, 1828, but afterwards fixed from the 1st of June, until such period as the British flag should continue to fly at Malacca. Mr. LEWIS was empowered to offer the Panghúlú the sum of 600 Spanish dollars, and each of the Ampat Súkú, 50 per annum, provided they would consent to transfer their lands to Government, in order that the tenth might be levied thereon, as well as on the Malacca lands.

These proposals met with a refusal.

In 1829, Mr. CHURCH, Deputy Resident, was sent to Sungí-puttye, on the Naning frontier, to confer with the *Panghúlú*, with instructions to make known to him that Naning was an integral part of Malacca, and that it was intended by Government to subject it also to the general regulations affecting the rest of the Malacca territory, but directed no immediate levying of this duty. He was further instructed to take a census, and to make it known, that all offenders, except in trivial matters, must be sent down in future to Malacca for trial. Mr. CHURCH, on the part of Government, offered the *Panghúlú* and *Ampat* Súkú pensions as a compensation.

The census was allowed to be taken, but the rest of these conditions met with an absolute negative.

When Mr. FULLARTON arrived, he wrote to the *Panghúlú*, who had not presented himself with the annual tribute, summoning him to Malacca, but without effect. An expedition was then proposed to be sent to chastise the sturdy chief; but deferred, pending a reference to the Supreme Government. The *Panghúlú* still further committed himself by the forcible and injustifiable seizure of a *Duson*, at Panchúr, within the Malacca boundary, the hereditary property of INCHI SURIN.

This man preferred his plaint to Government, and in consequence another message was dispatched.

The Panghúlú's answer set forth a determination to retain the Duson, affirming it to be his own property, and impeaching the right of Government to interfere. A proclamation was now published, declaring, that ABDUL SAYAD had forfeited all his claims, and was thenceforth no longer Panghúlú of Naning.

Such are the principal circumstances leading to the expedition in August, 1831, its failure, and the subsequent successful operations in 1832.

Tabu fell on the 15th June, 1832, ABDUL SANAD having barely time to carry off his family and his *Kabesaran*. The chest in which these relics were deposited fell into the hands of the troops. The *Panghúlú* fled first to Condong in Rumbowe, thence to Míko, and finally to Passir, in Sriminánti. Here he left his family, and has been wandering about the interior for some time past. After the evacuation of Tabu, he paid several pious visits to the tombs of his ancestors, who there lie buried; he has since returned to Sriminánti, where he lives in indigence, and would probably come in on terms and deliver himself up to Government.

His private property and lands have been confiscated.

The Ampat Súkú fled to Sabang, but finally separated and sought asylum in the neighbouring states. The two Mantris, MELANA HAKIM and GOMPOR, who principally instigated their chief to rebellion, are at Míko, (since returned.)

Mr. IBETSON visited Naning in the ensuing October, and created 15 Panghúlús over the different Mukims, or parishes, into which the country is divided, and thereby abolished the ancient power of the Panghúlú and Ampat Súkú.

The office of these newly elected chiefs is to preserve peace and quiet in their respective *Mukims*; to examine into and decide matters of little importance. Cases of a heavy nature are to be referred invariably to Government, and not as formerly to the *Ampat Súkú*, or heads of tribes, whose authority is now at an end.

They are to assist in the collection of the revenue, and apprehension of criminals; and are constituted as authorized channels of communication between the Government and the peasantry.

They derive no further emolument from their office, than part of their own lands, and produce being exempt from duty: this is also enjoyed by the four priests of each mosque.

On the 27th of October, 1832, Government took the judicious step of placing Naning and its new system of internal administration, under the superintendence of Mr. WESTERHOUT, a gentleman not only eminently qualified for the task by his perfect knowledge of the Malay character and capabilities, but on account of his extensive influence with the principal persons of the district and neighbouring independent states.

The terms under which Mr. WESTERHOUT undertook the settlement of the country are principally as follows: that he shall have the whole

of the tenth collected in Naning, until the 30th April, 1834, his travelling expences to be defrayed on the usual scale. Mr. WESTERHOUT is to introduce and establish the collection of the tenth, he shall make a census of the population, number of houses, &c. The quantity of grain sown by each individual is to be ascertained by him; also the extent of ground belonging to those individuals who are exempt from paying the duty. He shall likewise ascertain the quantity and nature of the lands, lately the property of DHOL SAYAD, and send in a return to Government of the new Panghúlús and places under their authority. The expediency of a number of wells being sunk at intervals of half a mile apart, along the Naning boundary-line with Rumbowe and Johore, was also suggested by Government.

On the 9th of January, 1833, Mr. WESTERHOUT met the Rumbowe chiefs at Sungí seaport, near the frontiers of Rumbowe, to arrange the respective boundaries. The boundary line agreed on follows the ancient one as far as Jírat Gunjí, from thence as stated before.

The Rumbowe chiefs revived some old claims to the Ramoan Chinas, stating, that in their old boundary papers, the line passed from Qualla Lingí over Bukit Bruang, and through Ramoan China, &c. to Padang Chachar.

We also find the Rájá of Salangore making a somewhat similar claim, in 1804, encroaching on the Company's territories as far as Sungí Baru. (Vide ANDERSON'S Considerations, page 203.)

They however readily ceded the point, when informed that according to all European copies of former treaties, the boundary-line in that quarter was the Lingí river, and that the Ramoan Chinas had always been private property under the Dutch and English Government.

The country, since the taking of Tabu, has been occupied by the Madras troops; but as its security has progressed, and the inhabitants have became more and more settled, the force has been gradually diminished. Distress and poverty are still too visible. These powerful agents, operating on a few desperate characters, have produced, in many instances, the natural results, robbery and murder. The newly-created Panghúlús, with families, crying out for food at home, and fearful for their own personal safety, are at present very far from being useful as a police; in time to come, after the machine has once received a proper impulse, the inhabitants returned to their rice-fields, and the ex-Panghúlú, now dwelling in the neighbouring state of Sríminánti, disposed of, then the troops may be withdrawn, or concentrated in a centrical post, and the Panghúlús, with their Mata Matas, may then be found sufficient for the duties required of them; but at present they stand more in

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need of support themselves, than they are able to afford it to the wretched rayats under them.

Most part of the above was written while in camp at Alor Gajeh, a place situated nearly in the centre of Naning, about 12 miles from the Rumbowe frontier, during part of 1832, and the beginning of 1833. Since this period, up to the present (1834), the inhabitants have, with few exceptions, returned to their native villages. The ex-Panghúlú came down from Sriminánti, and surrendered himself unconditionally to Government, on the 5th of February, 1834.

He has been permitted to reside at Malacca, and draw a salary from Government of 30 Sicca Rupees per mensem; has been sanctioned on this condition of his binding himself in 1000 Spanish dollars, and finding two securities in 500 Spanish dollars each, that he shall be forthcoming whenever called upon.

He has since this resided at Malacca, where he has received much attention from all classes of the native population. He is a hale, stout man, apparently about 50 years of age, of a shrewd and observant disposition, though highly imbued with the superstitions of his tribe. His supernatural efficacy in the cure of diseases is still firmly believed in, as that of certain kings of England was at no very remote period by their enlightened and scrofulous subjects; and his house is the daily resort of the health-seeking followers of Muhammed, Foh, Brahma, and Buddh.

The census of 1833-4, has exceeded those of former years, amounting to men, women, and children, 5,079. Although by the Muhammedan law, a Musalman enjoys the privilege of possessing four wives, provided he can maintain them, yet we find in Naning the number of males exceeds that of females by one hundred and sixty-one.

MONTESQUIEU, I believe, in a defence of polygamy among Asiatics, adduces as a cause the superior comparative number of females prevailing in the East. The population of Naning, like that of other Malayan states of the peninsula, is in a low state; in absence of other causes, generally assigned by political economists for this deficiency, may be ascribed the natural unproductiveness of the females: few bearing more than six children: the ravages of the small-pox, unchecked by inoculation or vaccination; the immoderate and constant practice of smoking opium, by those able to purchase this pernicious drug; and, perhaps, may be added, the poverty prevailing in many of its villages. The Malays, equally with other followers of Islam, are religiously bound to marry; hence we perceive few unmarried persons who have arrived at years of puberty. Prostitution and its attendant evils are extremely uncommon. I have observed many instances of longevity in the interior; seventy or eighty years is an age by no means rare. An instance of 120 years, has been related to me, on respectable authority, occurring in the person of DATTU PUAN, a native of Lubo Koppong, in Naning, who died some years ago at Sungí Baru. This truly patriarchal old man lived to see his descendants in the fifth generation.

**Produce of** 1833-4.—The last rice crops were not so abundant as expected, owing to a bad season, and the employment of the newly returned inhabitants in rebuilding their houses, repairing the Ampangans, or dams thrown across the rivers, for purposes of irrigation. The total produce of paddy amounted to 137,985 gantams. The tenth levied on this, and the other articles of produce, covered the expences of the district of Naning with a small overplus. The face of the country now presents every where the prospect of a plentiful harvest.

The Malacca lands, ceded during Mr. FULLARTON'S administration, by the Dutch proprietors to the British Government, in 1828, have however by no means repaid the expence of holding them, being a heavy annual loss to the Company. This I think is principally to be attributed to the extravagant compensation sums paid yearly, for the tenure right to the proprietors. Other causes operating indirectly on the revenue, to account for a small portion of this deficiency, exist; for instance, the Sirih farm.

Collection of the Revenue.—The tenth\* on the rice crops is levied in Naning much in the same manner as in the ceded lands, just mentioned, in the vicinity of Malacca.

When the grain is ripe, a person on the part of Government visits the rice-fields, attended by the owner, the Panghúlú, or *Mata Matas* of the village, and several of the oldest inhabitants on the spot, in order to agree on and assess its value. Regarding this point, a difference of opinion is naturally to be expected to arise between the taxer and the taxed. This is generally submitted to the arbitration of the Panghúlú and the village elders. But should these persons again assess the crop at a lower value than the collector's agent really thinks it worth, the latter has still the resource of offering to purchase the whole of the crop on the part of Government at the price the

\* The sovereign's right to the tenth has been from time immemorial acknowledged in Malayan states. This custom is very ancient, and appears to have prevailed over a great portion of the known world, and among nations of a very different character and religion; for instance, the Jews, the Gauls, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans. It was originally offered to the gods, and their priests; and then to sovereigns, who not frequently united the sacerdotal functions with their temporal powers.

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owner has justly valued it. This has been done in a few cases, I believe, and has been invariably refused. It is not therefore improbable, all circumstances taken into consideration, that not more than 7 or 8 per cent. at the most ever finds its way into the Company's godowns. The tenth in kind on paddy is sold whenever a good price can be procured for it on the spot, and the proceeds lodged in the treasury. The tenth on the other articles of land produce is levied at tolls placed at the entrances into Naning from Malacca, and there immediately sold.

Much inconvenience and loss is experienced by Government, through this uncertain mode of collecting the revenue. The tax itself too, as it rises with the produce, operates practically as a check to progressive increase in the cultivation.

A pecuniary compensation, or commutation, of the duty on the sawahs, or wet lands, fixed for a definite period, not less than five years, would be far more advantageous and convenient to both parties. It should be very moderate for the first period, during which the amount of the crops for each successive season should be carefully ascertained, as well as the increased quantity of land that would naturally be brought under cultivation. To such an arrangement the Naning cultivators are by no means averse, but they object to it with regard to the *ladang*, or dry land crops.

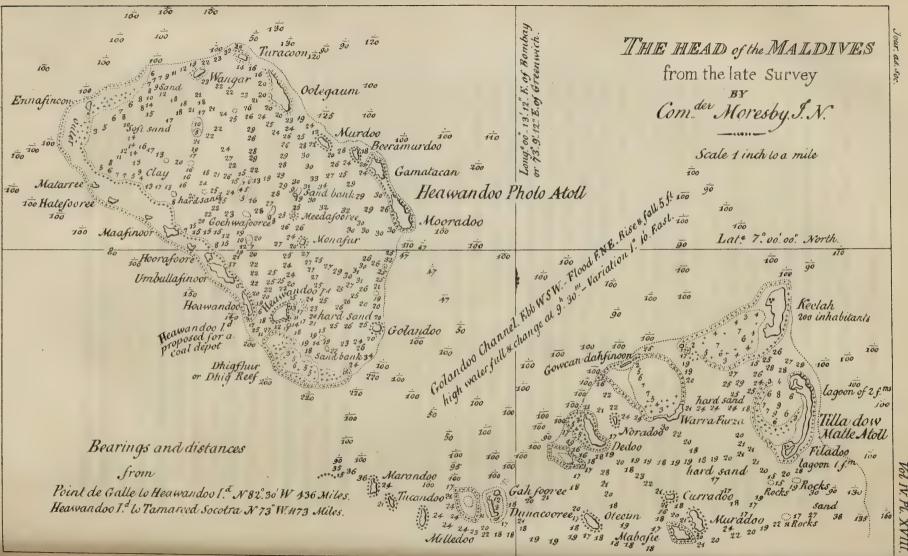
The desultory mode of cultivation known under the term *ladang*, of which Mr. MARSDEN has given an excellent description in his History of Sumatra, chap. iv., forms one of the principal obstacles to the introduction of the new land regulations into a Malayan country. Added to this, is the notorious dislike the Malays entertain to innovation and change, and their innate love of liberty and freedom from all shackles. They have a strong aversion to be bound down to the performance of any thing, even in matters which would afford them much amusement and pleasure, were they to act from free will and choice.

I am not aware of the *ladang* mode of cultivation offering any other advantages to the Malays, further than the charms of a wandering and shifting state of life.

The *ladang rice*, however, is affirmed by some to be sweeter and whiter, and to keep better than the produce of the *sawah*.

Although it is certain, that the chief present object is to improve and extend the agriculture of Naning, still its mineral resources should not be neglected.

At Bukit Bertam, gold was formerly procured, and considerable quantities of tin are known to exist throughout the district, particu-



larly at Bukit Kúkúsan, Súngi Bílú, Ulú Pondoi, and Súndí, near Tabu. At the latter place, Mr. WESTERHOUT has opened a mine, of the first produce of which I possess a very favorable specimen. There is in fact but little doubt that the mines in the vicinity of Malacca, if scientifically worked by persons of some little capital and perseverance, would prove of much intrinsic value; and otherwise benefit the country, by attracting into it an enterprising and industrious population.

The want of capital, and consequent haste to convert the produce into cash, is the great drawback, not only to mining speculations, but to the cultivation of pepper, and other spices, requiring still more time before yielding any return to the cultivator.

Colonel FARQUHAR might perhaps have been a little too enthusiastic in affirming, that " nature has been profusely bountiful to the Malay peninsula, in bestowing on it a climate the most agreeable and salubrious, a soil luxuriantly fertilized by numerous rivers, and the face of the country diversified with hills and valleys, mountains and plains, forming the most beautiful and interesting scenery that is possible for the imagination to figure," &c. &c. But nothing could be truer and better founded than his observation, viz. "We have only to lament that a more enterprising and industrious race of inhabitants than the Malays should not have possessed this delightful region."

#### II.—Description of Heavandoo Pholo, the Northern Atoll of the Maldive Islands. By Lieut. T. POWELL, I. N. Assistant Surveyor. Plate XVIII.

GEOGRAPHICAL SITE. The Atoll Heavandoo Pholo, or head of the Maldives, situated upon the meridian of Bombay, and between the parallels of 7° 7' and 6° 55', north latitude, consists of twenty-two islands, two islets, and two sand-banks, besides several small shoals and two large barrier reefs; the latter form the boundary of the Atoll to the S. W., W., and N. W., and along the outer age are dry at low-water spring-tides : outside they are steep, having 50 and 60 fathoms close to them, and no ground at 150 fathoms, at the distance of 300 yards.

The northern or principal barrier has 10 islands, and two small islets on it : one of the latter, on its southern extremity, being close to Heavandoo : these are all situated on the inner side of the reef, having three or four, and in some places six fathoms water between them and its outer edge, with small channels for boats between each, formed by the natives having cleared away the coral rocks. Nearly in the centre of the Atoll there are three small islands; the eastern side is clear of